REPORT RESUMES

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THE ROLE OF THE NONPROFESSIONAL IN THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. SUBMITTED FOR OPERATION RETRIEVAL.

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BASED ON A REVIEW OF REPORTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS PREPARED BY VARIOUS MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT TRAINING ACT-SPONSORED YOUTH-TRAINING PROJECTS AND ON INTERVIEWS WITH ADMINISTRATORS AND COMMUNITY RESIDENTS AT FIVE PROJECT SITES, THIS STUDY EVALUATES THE USE OF NONPROFESSIONAL STAFF IN THE OPERATION OF MANPOWER PROGRAMS. THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH EMPLOYMENT ARE VIEWED IN RELATION TO THE PROJECT'S PROGRAM, ITS TARGET POPULATION, THE NONPROFESSIONALS THEMSELVES, AND THE PROFESSIONAL PROJECT STAFF. CONCLUSIONS ARE -- (1) NONPROFESSIONALS HAVE NO INFLUENCE ON THE SUBSTANCE OF MANPOWER TRAINING PROGRAMS, (2) THE PRESENCE OF NONPROFESSIONALS ON PROJECT STAFFS IS FELT BY THE TARGET POPULATION, (3) THE SOCIOECONOMIC POSITIONS OF NONPROFESSIONAL STAFF HAVE CLEARLY BEEN RAISED AS A RESULT OF THEIR EMPLOYMENT, (4) THE PRESENCE OF NONPROFESSIONALS HAS INCREASED THE JOB EFFECTIVENESS OF PROFESSIONALS IN THE SAME AGENCY, (5) NONPROFESSIONAL STATUS IN ITSELF PROVIDES NO INTRINSIC MEANS FOR ACHIEVING PROGRAM OBJECTIVES, (6) PROFESSIONALS AND ADMINISTRATORS HAVE TOO OFTEN USED NONPROFESSIONALS AS "SHOCK TROOPS" TO QUICKLY INCREASE THE GROSS STATISTICS OF CLIENTS SERVED BY THE AGENCY, (7) THE FAILURE TO MAKE THE NONPROFESSIONAL AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SERVICE OFFERED HAS BEEN ESPECIALLY NOTICEABLE IN MANPOWER PROGRAMS, (8) TRAINING AND PROMOTION OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE NONPROFESSIONAL HAVE BEEN LACKING, AND (9) THE ONLY FORESEEABLE SOLUTION TO CHRONIC MANPOWER SHORTAGES IN THE SERVICE PROFESSIONS IS IN THE USE OF NONPROFESSIONALS. (ET)

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The Role of the Nonprofessional in the Manpower Development Programs

Submitted for Operation Retrieval

by

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Introduction

Although nonprofessionals have for many years been employed in program positions by service organizations, recently there has been a great increase in the number of such workers and in the attention devoted to various aspects of their employment.

The term "nonprofessional" refers to many disparate kinds of worker. Included under this rubric are holders of Bachelor of Arts degrees who provide services ordinarily dispensed by Masters of Arts or Ph.Ds, persons with some college training who hold jobs ordinarily requiring a B.A., students, and local residents of the target neighborhood who may not have finished high school and whose income may be under the poverty level - to mention just a few. In this paper, "nonprofessional" is used in its broadest sense, to cover all untrained personnel (middle class, indigenous, etc.) and all ranks of nonprofessional activity (ancillary, substitute, assistant, aide). A major focus of attention will be on the "indigenous" worker - i.e., a resident of the target area, comparable to the service population in such respects as race or ethnicity, income and educational level, etc.

MDTA-sponsored youth-training programs have frequently been part of comprehensive projects which encompass many services. Most of these comprehensive programs were funded by a variety of public and voluntary sources and are centrally administered. Under the auspices of other sponsors, these projects have utilized nonprofessionals in various program divisions. Although this report is concerned primarily with youth employment programs, it will make reference to uses of nonprofessionals in other divisions, in the belief that the experience of the nonprofessional in the project as a whole is relevant to the manpower program in particular..

This paper is based on a comprehensive review of reports and other documents prepared by various MDTA-sponsored youth-training programs and on numerous other materials collected by OMPER. From among the many projects, five were chosen for site visits. These five are not meant to represent the typical experience of OMAT youth projects. They were chosen, rather, because they appeared, on the basis of their written material, to be using nonprofessional staff in innovative or significant ways. The five programs are geographically disparate. Although all are located in large cities, no city represents a "typical" urban setting.

Interviews on project sites were conducted with agency administrators and practitioners as well as with relevant community residents.[1] The conclusions reported here are those of the author; they do not necessarily represent project or community consensus or the position of the Department of Labor. Estimates of the frequency of phenomena described in this report are based on impressions gleaned from the site visits and written reports, not on systematic enumeration.

Objectives in Using Nonprofessionals

Filling Manpower Needs

Since the historic social legislation enacted in the 30s, the number of agencies providing health, education, and welfare services has greatly increased. The past three decades have seen the creation of what is virtually a new industry, designed to meet the service demand of an increasingly urban, industrial, highly organized, technical nation. The complexity and specialization of our contemporary society has required public programs to provide for such contingencies as retirement, unemployment, illness, and disability, as well as for the recreational, educational, and vocational needs of the populace. The personnel requirements of this industry comprise a major portion of the nation's job market.

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[1] The author is grateful to the staff of the five projects visited for their gracious assistance and to Mr. Joseph Seiler of OMPER for providing written materials, arranging project contacts, facilitating administrative matters, and being otherwise helpful.

The development of the highly industrial American economic system has tended to direct available manpower to manufacturing and commercial enterprises rather than to service. As a result, in the entire history of the welfare-service complex, its manpower needs have never been adequately filled. Even as new sources of personnel are developed, constantly increasing demand has maintained a state of continuous shortage.

Within the last five or six years, this crisis in personnel has been intensified by the expansion of existing programs, such as services provided under the Social Security Act, as well as by programs such as community mental health and urban renewal. In addition, the early demonstration projects funded under the Manpower Development and Training Act and the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offences Control Act[2] have evolved into an all-out "war on poverty," based essentially on the provision of additional services to the millions of poor. The manpower needs of this vast mandate impose impossible demands on the service professions and thus have stimulated much of the current activity regarding the use of nonprofessionals.

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[2] These laws were administered through the Office of Manpower Automation and Training and the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, respectively.

Bridging the Gap Between Institutions and Clients

Accompanying the increase in welfare and service institutions over the last several decades has been an expansion in the range of the persons served by these institutions. This reflects a public-policy objective, to provide service to a full spectrum of the nation's population. Services originally limited to those who were most amenable to treatment and whose prognosis was most positive have been extended to those whose problems are numerous, acute, and unlikely to be solved rapidly.[3] Thus ethnic minorities, the unemployed, the undereducated, migrant workers, and matriarchal families, among other groups, have become the concern of employment bureaus, vocational-rehabilitation and guidance agencies, social-security and welfare bureaus, and voluntary agencies as well as poverty programs. This interest in serving the total community reflects both the developing welfare-state philosophy and a growing sensitivity to practical politics. The trend to urbanization (three fourths of the nation's population is located in urban centers) has awarded the city enormous influence in national politics. The elective process, in the reapportionment and one-man, one-vote issues, acknowledges this new power.

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[3] Cf. E. Burns, "Social Security in Evolution Toward What?" Social Service Review, XXIX, 2 (January 1965).

In an earlier day, welfare agencies denied service to persons who they judged to be unemployable, uneducatable, unmotivated, immoral, or incorrigible. But the same factors which have led welfare agencies to serve new deprived groups today keep them from abandoning these clients when it appears that the programs they offer are unsuited to the clients' needs.

Agency programs have generally been offered in a style very different from that of the target population and have been staffed by professionals who tend to differ from the clients in ethnicity, education, and other social-class indices. Agency programs and policies have usually been created by central decision-making bodies far removed from the service neighborhood. These factors have produced a gap between the service institution and the target population. The nonprofessional worker, indigenous to the population served, is seen as a bridge between the institution and the lower-class community. The expansion of staff to include some members of this class as dispensers of service does not require the service agency to alter its program, replace its present staff, or revise the legislative or corporate mandate under which it operates. The use of local persons is perhaps the least threatening way of developing rapport with the new client.

The indigenous nonprofessional is seen as having mutual interests and common cause with program participants, able to communicate freely with them because, like them, he is poor, resides in the neighborhood, and shares minority-group status, common background, and language. It is assumed that nonprofessional staff, being of the community, will not render judgments, either clinical or moral, about client behavior.

Local nonprofessionals are often hired because they have succeeded in mastering the intricacies of urban slum life and can teach program participants how to do likewise. The service they offer is very different from that provided by the more clinically oriented professional. It is direct, immediate, and pragmatic. The nonprofessional may, for example, help a work trainee to succeed in a job culture by teaching him not to be a rate buster, how to show proper deference to a foreman, and the like. He may provide a welfare client with knowledge, inadvertently or deliberately withheld by the department, which enables her to obtain larger benefits. In both instances, techniques will be both informal and unofficial. The nonprofessional may suggest stretching or bending rules and regulations on behalf of the client. This should cause no alarm, for it is apparent that professionals and administrators similarly stretch rules on behalf of agency, or for expedience or economy.

In all these ways, local nonprofessionals provide the institution with sufficient flexibility to remain in contact with program participants who otherwise would be excluded from service. Yet considerable opposition to the use of such personnel has been generated. Even in agencies which operate out of directives that indigenous nonprofessionals be employed, compliance is often reluctant, and every effort is made to ensure that the service program remains intact.

Providing Jobs for the Unemployed

The fact that, in the midst of great national prosperity, chronic unemployment and widespread poverty persist among certain segments of the population was forcibly brought to public attention by Michael Harrington[4] and others in the early 1960's. Many proposals have been offered to remedy this situation. As a solution to poverty in plenty, for example, Robert Theobold[5] has proposed that a minimum income level be established below which no family would be permitted to drop. Pearl and Riesmann[6] seek the solution in the creation of a million welfare-service jobs for the poor. They claim that the bulk of professional time is spent in activity which could be handled no less effectively by the nonprofessional and suggest that their approach will not only provide jobs for the technologically unemployed, but will reduce estrangement between service agency and disadvantaged client and fill a chronic manpower need.

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[4] Michael Harrington, The Other America, New York: Macmillan, 1963.

[5] Robert Theobold, Free Men and Free Markets, New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1963.

[6] Arthur Pearl and Frank Riesmann, New Careers for the Poor, Glencoe: Free Press, 1965.

Fulfilling Democratic Ideology

The democratic egalitarian traditions of our nation are based on the idea that all citizens must participate actively in governmental and decision-making processes. Numerous studies indicate, however, that by such indices as membership in voluntary associations and voting behavior, the lower classes are significantly less active than the middle and upper classes. In fact, by any absolute measure of activism they do not exercise their franchise or participate in the affairs of community life. They are therefore without voice, power, and influence, and thus belie our democratic image.

Among the many socio-political strategies put forward to rectify this situation are programs designed for the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor, such as the community-action projects established under Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act.[7] The involvement of the poor in the development and the administration of these programs, as called for in the Act, has aroused considerable controversy. Participation of the poor on a policy-making level has been opposed by such diverse critics as the Bureau of the Budget, a southern governor's office, and various councils of social agencies. It is for this reason that the majority of anti-poverty programs meet their mandate to involve the poor by employing local residents in the "conducting" function, or the dispensation of anti-poverty largesse. The employment of local persons is often made a requirement of the project, without which it could not exist. Some service programs therefore employ non-professionals without regard for how they might best be used, but simply as a means of bringing a program into existence.

The "Helper Therapy" Principle

Observers have been struck by the fact that programs which use people in trouble to help others with similar difficulties are often as successful in helping the provider of service as in helping the recipient.[8]

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[7] Public Law 88-452, August 20, 1964, Title II, Section 202, a3. "The term community action program means a program which is developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served; . . . ."

[8] Cf. Frank Riesmann, "The "Helper Therapy" Principle," Social Work, X, 2 (April 1965).

Such programs as Synanon and Parents Without Partners appear to have regularized this phenomenon to the point where the roles of patient and therapist become indistinguishable; the course of treatment is for the patient to devote his energies to the rehabilitation of others. One of the projects under review which employed adolescents as tutors of younger children illustrates this phenomenon most dramatically. Local high-school students were assigned to tutor fourth-and fifth-grade pupils who were severely retarded in reading development. Many of the tutors themselves were below grade in their school work, and their educational and employment future was bleak. Over a study period of several months, the youngsters who were tutored as much as four hours a week showed significant improvement when compared to a control group. Even more striking - and unexpected - was the improvement made by the tutors, which exceeded the gains made by pupils.[9]

The ultimate objective of many nonprofessional approaches is to channel some of the forces within the deprived community itself into rehabilitative and restorative efforts so that the client becomes able to help himself. Complementing the service component in such efforts are attempts to break the cycle of pessimism and defeat which plagues low-income persons. In a society in which the highest value is placed on success in the world of work, there is no more potent device for enhancing self-esteem than meaningful, productive employment. The employment of nonprofessionals may therefore produce therapeutic results simply by awarding these workers status, regardless of the benefits derived in the helping process.

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[9] Robert Cloward, Studies in Tutoring, Research Center, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1966. Mimeographed

The Nonprofessionals and Their Assignments

Background of the Workers

Nonprofessionals associated with the various youth projects have been drawn from diverse backgrounds. They include indigenous local residents and clients, middle-class volunteers, graduate and undergraduate college students (both as volunteers and on field-training assignments), VISTA volunteers and Peace Corps trainees. Both youth and adults have been utilized as nonprofessional program personnel. In one single large-scale project, virtually all these categories of nonprofessionals have been used concurrently, as follows:

1. Student Project Assistants. Graduates of the youth-employment counseling program were given general ancillary responsibilities, such as driver, assistant receptionist, interpreters of the youth-training program to the community.

2. Interns: Part time (30 hours per week) college

students were assigned tutoring, counseling, job-development, and other professional responsibilities.

3. VISTA Volunteers: Full-time volunteers were assigned to tutoring and community work.

4. Neighborhood Youth Corps Trainees: Youngsters enrolled in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and placed in project programs were assigned such ancillary responsibilities as clerical, research, and custodial assistants.

5. Neighborhood Adult-Participation Project Aides: Full-time employees in the project's community-development program. NAPPs carried many responsibilities among which were assignments to the youth-training program as work-crew foremen.

6. Volunteers (students, professionals, and housewives): Middle-class residents offered a variety of services, both professional (as psychotherapy, tattoo removal, legal services) and nonprofessional (tutoring assistant).

7. Work-Study Students: College students from low-income families being assisted under Title IC of the Economic Opportunity Act were assigned to assist in job development, counseling, tutoring, etc.

8. Vocational-Rehabilitation and Social Work trainees: These trainees were assigned appropriately to programs which would facilitate their professional training.

Nonprofessionals may be categorized as indigenous to the target community or separate from it. Indigenous workers are those who reside in the target area, engage in social, economic, and political processes similar to those of the program participants, and are matched with them in such characteristics as social class, ethnicity, race, religion, language, culture, and mores. Many projects have recruited such nonprofessional staff from the broader community beyond the target area, but we shall continue to call these workers indigenous if they are matched with clients on general face-sheet characteristics. In attempting to fill crew-chief positions, for example, projects have frequently had difficulty in finding local residents with the necessary work skills. The search for such persons in the broader community was often futile as well, since for many crafts the candidate's racial and ethnic characteristics, which provide the indigenous match, preclude the acquisition of work-skill qualifications. In projects which attempted to prepare youth for work through training in carpentry, masonry, plumbing, and other building trades, the crew chief often matched the client only on certain working-class attributes but not on residential, racial, or cultural characteristics. Other divisions in the same project which did not require the work-related skills were able to employ nonprofessionals who were native to the target area and representative of its population. In general, the projects appear to have been most successful in hiring indigenous nonprofessionals for assignments which did not require a high degree of formal technical skill.

Nonprofessional staff that was separate from the target population and community sometimes became associated with the program, almost accidentally. This was particularly true of volunteers. The experiences of the projects with volunteers are so disparate as to defy classification. Some of these nonprofessionals were typical social-agency volunteers, members of the middle and upper classes offering their services in their leisure as a gesture of noblesse oblige. At the opposite end of the scale were young radicals who settled in ghettos as a matter of personal choice, virtually as missionaries or colonizers, who offered their services as part of their political ideological commitment. In a number of instances, volunteers were arbitrarily thrust upon the projects and were accepted with resentment and misgivings. In these cases relationships with the project tended to become pro forma and were usually short lived.

In their early attempts to reach unemployed youth, training projects located in Spanish-speaking ghettos were faced with language barriers. In order to provide counseling as well as other services, it was necessary to find Spanish-speaking professionals. The search soon revealed that Spanish-speaking minority-group members had been systematically excluded from the professions.

Because of the need to establish a relationship as a functional therapeutic device there is an inordinate dependence on the spoken word in counseling, tutoring, social work, and other such rehabilitation services. For this reason the use of translators with English-speaking professionals is impractical. Projects therefore recruited Spanish-speaking persons with some college or a college degree to provide such services. These workers were sometimes called aides or intake workers to distinguish them from their fully trained counterparts, but these distinctions tended to fade rather quickly. Recruitment of non-indigenous Negro staff took place for similar reasons, in the belief that Negro clients would communicate more fully with Negro workers than with white personnel.[10] Many projects also recruited Negro and Spanish personnel in an attempt to meet political pressure for integration exerted by civil-rights and other activist and community groups.

Often such nonprofessional personnel were selected instead of indigenous lower-class persons. One project describes an extensive screening process which eliminated

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[10] Cf. John Martin, "Social-Cultural Differences: Barriers in Casework with Delinquents," Social Work, II, 3 (July 1957).

30 or 40 indigenous applicants because they were deficient in communication skills and lacked preprofessional experience. The positions in question were ultimately filled by Negro and Puerto Rican workers, all of whom had had at least three years of college. These applicants had work backgrounds in teaching in the rural south, recreation work in a large city, and work as a research assistant.

Most projects employed nonprofessionals on a full-time, paid basis, and most employed nonprofessionals were adults. With few exceptions* use of youth in service positions has been the assignment of Neighborhood Youth Corps trainees to various projects for work experience. In these instances, of course, the project is not the employer of the nonprofessional youth, nor does it assume direct responsibility for supervising him.

Types of Assignments

The wide variety of tasks to which nonprofessionals have been assigned may be subsumed under four categories: direct service responsibilities, responsibilities ancillary to the professional service, responsibilities establishing "bridges" or ties to the target community, and assignments totally apart from the professional services of the project. This last category, which simply needs to be acknowledged rather than discussed, consists in the main of clerical and custodial assignments often given to N.Y.C., Peace Corps trainees, and others, particularly volunteers, whom the project is forced to accept. Although this pattern is not uncommon, it does not characterize every assignment made to such nonprofessionals.

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*Youth Opportunities Board, Los Angeles, Mobilization for Youth, New York.

Direct service responsibilities - the least common of the four categories - refer to services usually transmitted to the client though the professional worker, e.g., counseling, remediation, job development, tutoring, and teaching. In the projects reviewed, there were examples of nonprofessionals providing each of these services directly to the client. Such assignments make best use of the skills peculiar to the nonprofessional, for example, his enthusiasm and spontaneity.

Direct assignment also tends to utilize such nonprofessional qualities as the ability to communicate with clients, through common language or style; empathy with the client through shared life experience; and the ability to help clients negotiate the complexities of the ghetto.

Assignment to responsibilities ancillary to the provision of professional service is the most common way of using nonprofessionals. Some of these assignments are rather remote from the professional services being offered. In contrast to the wholly unrelated assignment, however, they are located within the program and are related to the client group. Ancillary responsibilities may consist of clerical, administrative, transport, and other such duties which help to bring the client and the service into productive contact. Further along the continuum toward direct assignment are tasks which are instrumental in preparing the client for the professional service, e.g., reception, intake, and vestibule services - which are frequently assigned to nonprofessional personnel.

Such assignments as recruitment and follow up involve a large measure of independent service. Nonprofessionals on these assignments generally operate directly in the neighborhood away from the supports and structure of the project agency. They are called upon to exercise considerable imagination and ingenuity, particularly when they deal with youth whom the agency has failed to induct or for whom service has been ineffective. Although successful recruitment or follow up ultimately entails turning the client over to a professional for service, the nonprofessional task is perhaps more accurately viewed as contiguous rather than ancillary. Within the ancillary assignment, as one moves from the remote to the contiguous, the opportunities for exploiting indigenous qualities appear to increase.

Recruitment and follow up to some degree serve a bridge function. However, the assignments which we classify as bridge have more to do with project community relations on an institutional basis. In speaking engagements, door-to-door canvassing, leaflet distribution, and visiting youth groups and P.T.A.s, the nonprofessional acts as agency spokesman to the target community and the community at large. The use of nonprofessionals in these capacities is often a viable device for persuading the target community that services are being offered by a congenial institution. (It can, however, become a public-relations gimmick, an attempt to represent the agency as ethnically or culturally indigenous when in fact it may not be. It is something of an anomaly that the employment of nonprofessionals can be offered as tokenism to avoid the actual reordering of a public institution along congenial indigenous lines.)

Work-training projects tend to discriminate between indigenous and middle-class, more formally trained nonprofessionals. The former group gets more irrelevant and fewer direct assignments. The ancillary tasks assigned them tend to be remote rather than contiguous. Middle-class nonprofessionals are utilized more frequently in direct assignment, often in ways indistinguishable from the professional. Agency representatives indicated that they would be willing to promote such nonprofessionals into professional positions, although few actually did. Where youth-employment projects were part of comprehensive programs, this tendency was not so pronounced in other program divisions. Although indigenous nonprofessionals in employment projects were not assigned to provide counseling or remediation, they did provide social-work services (casework, group work, and especially community organization) and educational services (tutoring, citizenship, and consumer) in other divisions of the same project. The failure to use indigenous nonprofessionals in employment was more pronounced in the counseling than in work-readiness programs. Crew chiefs and on-the-job-training personnel did include numbers of indigenous persons.

Substantive Issues

The Nonprofessional and the Agency

The use of nonprofessionals in MDTA youth programs was in large part the result of influence exerted by the federal funding agencies. Federal agencies not only provided the service agencies with funds for the employment of nonprofessionals but threatened to set up parallel organizations if these moneys were not used for that purpose. A number of respondents were convinced that without this threat the agencies and projects would not have hired nonprofessionals, and that should federal supports be removed, they would stop using nonprofessionals. It is significant that this opinion appears to apply primarily to nonprofessional employees who are indigenous to the service community.

In part this reluctance reflects the resentment that many project administrators and agency executives feel at being compelled to employ large numbers of minority-group indigenous persons. According to one respondent, the project was "paying the price for one hundred years of discrimination by the entire community." Although others expressed their conviction that nonprofessionals were vital to successful project program, they frequently felt inhibited with regard to reassigning or dismissing these indigenous personnel because of fear of community reprisals. When the administrative head of one project dismissed the director of a neighborhood program which employed many indigenous nonprofessionals, these workers picketed project headquarters and eventually involved the local congressman and the regional Office of Economic Opportunity. As a result, in large measure, of the public turmoil the workers were able to raise, the professional director was rehired with considerable loss of face for the project administration. This incident resulted in widespread enmity among professionals associated with the project regarding this program in particular and indigenous workers in general. The potential for a re-enactment of this situation exists in all projects, programs, and agencies which employ local residents.

The attitude of various state employment service offices illustrates that they perceive a threat inherent in the use of local personnel stemming from the fact that the employment of such persons forces the agency to a degree of accountability to the client community. This is contrary to the pattern traditional in all service agencies of professional self-regulation and accountability to the total community[11] and to the employment service's views of its responsibility to the employer.

The district manager of a state-employment-service office which itself employs nonprofessional staff complained that the nonprofessional doesn't play by the rules. The persistence with which such workers undertake job development, he claimed, often alienates employers: they tend to demand rather than ask for job placements. In addition these workers are not content to stay within the parameters of their assigned tasks; they want to "take over the entire agency."

A demonstration project staff member observed that turnover among nonprofessional provisional workers in the Bureau of Employment Security was inordinately high. "The best provisionals end up being the ones who fail the tests and get fired." According to this respondent, this phenomenon cannot be explained in terms of the workers' failure to meet state job standards, since the employment service could train provisionals to take tests just as the project prepares trainees to take tests. The phenomenon illustrates the reluctance of the employment service to hire and to retain local nonprofessionals. Once hired, these staff are generally abrasive to the operation of the office as conceived by its executive, and a high turnover rate ensues. According to project informants, further evidence could be found in the high turnover rate of CAUSE counselors in the employment service.

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[11] "Total community" generally means the formal organizations and representative groups of the community. It apparently never includes the unaffiliated poor.

A nonprofessional who served as a neighborhood extension (or outreach) worker for the employment service office voiced a number of grievances regarding lack of employment-service cooperation. She charged that supportive counseling services were not provided, that only certain kinds of jobs were made available to her people, and, most particularly, that the employment service did not take her word for anything. What was the use, she asked, of an neighborhood extension program if all the information gathered through that program was verified independently by the downtown office? The employment-service office felt that nonprofessionals were useful in pre-employment and intake functions but lacked the skill and training to operate effectively beyond this point; professional counselors therefore had to take over. This view reflected in part an ideological disparity between the professional and the nonprofessional. The nonprofessional apparently feels that the most important thing to be done for the client is to get him a job while the professional feels that "one has to correct the root of the unemployment problem through programs of counseling, training, and education which will make the person employable." The professional also tends to select the most amenable candidates, excluding "drifters, gamblers, and hustlers," while the nonprofessional believes that the service should be available to all on a first come, first served basis. It is clear that there are both merits and problems in each of these points of view. Despite the strains, the employment service has managed to contain both elements. Its administration describes the nonprofessional in program as a "must."

The use of nonprofessionals in the projects and in the public-welfare service agencies in particular must be seen in terms of institutional change, as well as service objectives. The introduction of a program device as innovative as this one, even if the original intention is only to improve service, must soon produce strains leading to alterations in patterns of agency function. A somewhat anomalous circumstance surrounds this social-change objective in that it is articulated by the staff of the CAP agency which administers the federal funds but not by the public agencies which are the targets of the change. Thus the anti-poverty administrators conceive of the nonprofessionals as change agents while the welfare agency sees them as facilitating existing services. It would appear that the stress inherent in this situation is exacerbated by this dual perception.[12]

The experience of a neighborhood employment office nonprofessional illustrates the way in which alterations in service impinge on general agency function. Because of this worker's roots in the community, she is contacted on matters pertaining to all programs offered by the local CAP. While being interviewed for this review, the worker received a call from a local resident, greatly agitated because her welfare worker was investigating a report that she was receiving income for baby sitting. The information had been given to the welfare worker by the Head Start coordinator, who was working with the family for which the baby sitting was said to have taken place. After hearing from the client, the employment aide called the Head Start worker, the welfare worker, and the neighborhood family to ascertain the facts. She then explained to the welfare worker that no payment had been made for sitting, that funds were not being diverted from the regular family food budget for this purpose, and that this was, after all, the kind of neighborliness to be encouraged in building community pride and spirit.

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[12] It may very well be that this disparity is essential if the nonprofessional is to be accepted by the service agency at all. If this is the case, there is little that can be done about this complication beyond recognizing its genesis and some of its consequences.

The indigenous worker then explained to the Head Start worker, politely but firmly, that baby-sitting arrangements on the part of the Head Start family were none of the worker's business. If she inadvertently became privy to such information she should keep it to herself. Later, describing her own work, she said that if she succeeds in helping a person on public assistance to get a job, she does not share this fact with the welfare department. She points out to the client that he is required to inform the department and that she hopes he will do so. However, she can understand that need may drive the client to withhold information, and she will not interfere with this.

In this instance, the worker remains loyal to indigenous rather than professional values and behavior patterns. The community's acceptance of this worker as interpreter, confidante, and advocate is undoubtedly a response to this loyalty. Her professional associates in the CAP agency regard her with some fear and suspicion. The employment-service people look upon her as a troublemaker, and top agency administrators tend to see her as a model of what the indigenous nonprofessional ought to be. The question of whether the indigenous worker is loyal to the neighborhood from which he is drawn or to the agency is not always resolved in so clear-cut a manner.

In another project, another nonprofessional indigenous worker faced with the same dilemma indicated that she would share information with her agency, but not with the Department of Welfare, if the client refused to do so. This worker expressed a sense of alienation from her own community. Regarding her relationships with her neighbors after being employed by the youth project, she indicated that "the people do stand off, they feel that you are not the same." It appears that nonprofessionals who feel this alienation tend to seek acceptance from the agency staff group, where they are likely to take on additional values, attitudes, and norms of behavior alien to the neighborhood.

Another factor which appears to have a bearing on where the indigenous nonprofessional will build continuing loyalties is the nature of the job assignment. In the first instance described above the worker was employed in a direct service capacity; the responsibilities of the second worker were ancillary. Primary identification with the community seems to be enhanced if the nonprofessional is engaged in activity that can stand on its own. Where the nonprofessional's successful performance was tied to a client's amenability to service to be provided by a professional colleague, high professional identification and orientation ensued. Where performance was independent and community participation by heretofore unserved persons was esteemed, identification with community was primary. In the project in which the professionally oriented ancillary worker is located, there is a division in which nonprofessionals are used in direct service capacities. These workers, drawn from the same community, of identical class and racial background and employed under the same project executive, are militantly identified with community.

Issues of Recruitment and Selection

Although professional and nonprogram staff are systematically and regularly recruited through conventional channels (i.e., employment services, ads, etc.), nonprofessionals are apparently recruited on an ad hoc basis. Community informants, particularly such influentials as local welfare-agency executives, clergymen, political leaders, and school officials, are often asked to refer local persons for employment. Sometimes "outstanding" residents are specified. Even when this is not explicitly done, the persons referred tend to be those who have assumed some leadership in the organization with which the referrer is affiliated. (As will be noted later, there is reason to believe that relying on local institutional leaders as a source of candidates screens the applicants in light of the qualities which the recruiter deems desirable. In addition, unrelated factors may influence selection; for example, positions maybe seen by referrants as rewards for service, political patronage, or largesse for the deserving poor.)

In most cases, neither the local institutions which do the recruiting nor the projects have formally specified the qualities which they seek in nonprofessional staff. One informant indicated, however, that his project sought "a quickness of mind and a capacity for growth," along with "a public capability to lead and organize." Nonprofessionals in this project appear to have a good measure of the qualities sought. In a project in another city, staff have indicated that they seek nonprofessionals with white-collar experience. High priority has been placed on the ability to prepare written reports and to participate easily in staff meetings and conferences. This project expressly attempts to avoid nonprofessionals who are "too overidentified with the client." (It is interesting to note that the white-collar experience which this project seeks apparently successfully screens out those who tend to be overidentified.) In still another city, the project staff sought persons with a strong personality and a strong positive commitment to the agency; "do-gooders" were not welcome in staff positions.

Still another agency at its inception developed differential recruitment practices and standards for its various categories of nonprofessional staff, depending on the function they were intended to fill. One group, which helped local residents with household management, was selected from a list of women recommended by local settlements and churches. The qualities sought were homemaking skills, demonstrated mastery of the intricacies of urban slum living, and good feeling toward people. Members of another group, hired to teach a craft or work skills to young people, were recruited directly from industry. They were not local residents or affiliated with local welfare or religious institutions. Community workers were recruited from among the local unaffiliated residents. The quality sought was leadership, which was measured in terms of following; thus, influential community persons who were not involved in community institutions were selected. As is apparent, very different kinds of nonprofessionals were hired in each of these job categories.

The Neighborhood House Project in Richmond, California developed written specifications which described job qualifications and requirements (as well as responsibilities and benefits).[13] Requirements included local residence, prior work experience, and participation in the PTA, the Scouts, a union, a fraternal group, or some other similar organization. Personal characteristics sought were maturity, the ability to work with people, agency loyalty, participation in some form of personal upgrading, and willingness to undertake training, if necessary. Educational requirements are listed as high school, G.E.D., or strong potential for G.E.D. The specifications noted that the position for which the nonprofessional was to be hired was regarded, not as an end in itself, but as a means of helping him find a permanent place in the labor force or encouraging him to seek additional training. Although many of the requirements and conditions listed in these documents are the same as those of other projects, the fact that they are available to candidates and recruiters makes for a consistency in the selection of nonprofessionals that is too often lacking in practice.

Two of the projects surveyed in connection with this report indicated that they had interviewed candidates for nonprofessional employment who had been trained under an OMAT grant to the National Committee for the Employment of Youth. One project found none of these candidates suitable for employment as counseling and job-development aides. The other project employed seven of these trainees in such direct assignments as recruiters, work-readiness evaluators, and assistant crew chiefs. Apparently a project's ability to make effective use of nonprofessionals depends more on its willingness to surrender areas of professional discretion to them than on issues of training, or the availability of trained applicants. Competence is judged differently by different projects, and it is likely that each sees the nonprofessional as serving a different organizational purpose.

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[13] It is of interest, with regard to possible replication of MDTA experience, that this community subsequently developed a highly sophisticated CAP program which included specifications for each distinctive nonprofessional position.

Nonprofessional staff have also been drawn from among local people who were active in the project as volunteers. Recruits of this kind pose problems for those local residents who continue to serve as volunteers, particularly for those who are engaged in activities similar to those of the employed worker.

A number of projects reported that the target community was involved in choosing nonprofessional personnel through the participation of residents in selection committees. In some instances these committees see all candidates; others see candidates who have been screened by the project's administration. Some committees make specific recommendations for hiring; others designate which candidates are acceptable, from among whom administration can then make their choice. Professional employees are not screened by selection committees, although in some cases their application forms are reviewed by these bodies. In these cases, local community residents are not a part of the personnel committee.

Issues of Identification

Recruitment practices are not unrelated to the question of whether the nonprofessional, particularly the indigenous nonprofessional, will identify with the project which employs him or the community from which he was recruited. When recruitment patterns select the upwardly mobile and job assignments encourage agency dependency, one can be reasonably certain that the project and the professionals will become the basic reference groups for these staff members. This is especially true for those whose desire for job security is strong.

The projects' experience confirms the numerous studies which describe the tendency of the less skilled and lower-class worker to favor security over a risky but real opportunity for advancement. Patterns of employment tenure among nonprofessionals indicate virtually no turnover, in contrast to the very high turnover rate among professionals in the same agency. The nonprofessional's general experience in the job market leads him to be conservative in his approach to employment. Realizing that his opportunities for employment are restricted, he will eschew conflict with the agency and seek rapport, both deliberately and unconsciously, by internalizing agency-professional norms.[14]

The experience of several projects with nonprofessional staff illustrates both their tendency to avoid certain nonprofessional, community-based activities and their tendency to emulate professional practice. In one of the projects nonprofessionals assigned to a service-provision program demanded to be supervised by means of regularly scheduled weekly conferences; to be assigned offices equipped with desks, blotters and lamps; and to utilize appointment books and office hours. These workers wished to avoid home visits to deteriorated buildings, baby-sitting, and homemaking assignments. However, nonprofessionals in the same agency who were assigned to community-organization tasks did not pursue a similar pattern. The success of this latter group depended on viable community ties. Thus they frequented the streets and the tenements, preferred storefront locations, dressed casually, and avoided any distinctions which would separate them from the neighborhood residents. This supports our earlier conclusion that choice of reference group is strongly influenced by job assignment, in part because job assignment may influence the pattern by which employment security is best established.

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[14] Cf. Charles Grosser, "Perceptions of Professionals, Indigenous Workers, and Lower Class Clients," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1965.

The role of the professional in the community-organization program offers yet another affirmation of the potency of job assignment in this respect. In a number of ways the professionals in this division were more community-identified than the nonprofessionals in the other service divisions. They dressed casually, without tie or jacket, spoke the neighborhood argot, and did without desks, appointment books, and formal conferences.

Issues of Upward Mobility

Although some thought has been given to the problem of creating a career line through which the nonprofessional may be promoted and increase his earnings, no such plans are currently operational. Two patterns of advancement are discernible. The first brings the nonprofessional into common cause with professional, clerical, and maintenance personnel in a trade-union organization. Advancement takes place collectively rather than individually, through negotiated agreements which include incremental salary increases and improved fringe benefits. Such benefits may include, as is the case in one project, the provision that current staff be given first option on all new job openings. This provision occasionally affords upward mobility for the nonprofessional.

In the second pattern which is much more widespread, the individual advances by moving from one program in the community to another, seeking a higher rate of pay, or to a more demanding position within the project in which he is employed, which is paid on a higher basis. As a nonprofessional worker gains white-collar experience in a project job, he not only learns the skills that are required to do the work, but also becomes aware of employment possibilities in other CAP and OEO programs. Thus he might move from an ancillary or unrelated assignment to a direct-service assignment either within the same project or across several anti-poverty programs.

Issues of Professional-Nonprofessional Relations

Generally the professional worker accepts his untrained, noncredentialed colleague in ancillary, bridge, or unrelated assignments within the project. Although there are a few professionals who feel that even in these areas the nonprofessional is inappropriately involved, in the main the professional views the untrained worker, particularly the indigenous worker, positively. In fact, the reaction of the professional is often somewhat romanticized. The vaunted virtues of the nonprofessional - spontaneity, ability to communicate, informality, style, and identification with clients - are often perceived in idealized fashion although they are frequently belied by performance. The tendency of nonprofessionals to exhibit quite different characteristics under certain circumstances is infrequently acknowledged. In addition to romanticizing the virtues of the untrained, the professional tends to assume - often erroneously - that he himself wholly lacks these qualities.

A survey conducted by one of the projects indicated that the attitudes and beliefs of nonprofessional staff tend to be highly judgmental and moralistic regarding the behavior of local target-area residents. They often regard illegitimacy, unemployment, drinking, and even boisterous asocial behavior as evidence of moral turpitude. They also tend to be somewhat fatalistic about a person's ability to affect his life. These observations indicate that the services of the nonprofessional might be utilized best if assignments were made selectively. The professional's objectivity and dispassion might be more functional in serving low-income clients in certain circumstances than the nonprofessional's congeniality and judgmentalness. However, it appears that little discretion in assignment was exercised consciously. When the project's view of the use of the nonprofessional was positive, their attitude was you can't have too much of a good thing; when their set was negative, they tended to feel that it doesn't matter anyway. Either view resulted in indiscriminate assignments.

Even in the area of advocacy, it was found that under certain circumstances, nonprofessionals constituted an impediment to effective service. This was most striking where project staff had to negotiate on behalf of a trainee with a hostile community institution. Such institutions tend to be more favorably disposed when approached by a professional whose "style, language, and affect" are familiar. If what is being sought is immediate service for the trainee, the professional is obviously the best bridge between project and formal community institution. Several projects identified this phenomenon in its negative aspect, describing how staff members with a Spanish accent were summarily brushed aside when they phoned certain institutions for assistance, whereas these same institutions responded favorably when called by (English-speaking) staff with no accent.

The reactions of nonprofessionals to professional staff tend to follow the patterns of identification described earlier. Those who are project-identified tend to be less critical than those who are community-identified. The community-oriented group shares the residents' perception of the professional as an outsider, something of a cold fish, too formal, bureaucratic, and not sufficiently sympathetic to the neighborhood. One is struck, however, by the clear-cut distinction made by virtually all community residents as well as by the nonprofessional staff between project professionals and professionals employed in other community-service organizations. The former group is accepted and viewed critically in the light of this acceptance; from the latter group however, there is virtually complete estrangement. In assaying the consequences of the use of nonprofessionals later in this paper, we shall suggest that not the least of them is the effect they have on total project staff.

Strain between the formally certified and untrained staffs is most likely to appear when nonprofessionals are assigned to direct service responsibilities. In virtually every instance, responses indicated that the professional group reacted defensively, at least at first. They were unwilling to concede that there were significant portions of their jobs which could be given over to nonprofessionals. As a result, administrators were reluctant to experiment with direct assignments, anticipating that professional staff would object sharply.

Clearly, the professional in these instances saw the direct service assignment of the nonprofessional as an encroachment on his designated area of practice. It appears that this resistance owed more to the feeling that the use of untrained persons denigrated professional training than to any actual threat to job security. The problem was much more formidable in anticipation than in practice. Where nonprofessionals were actually given direct service assignments, accommodation soon resulted. Unfortunately, the timidity of administrators appears to have precluded many such assignments.

Personnel practices have proved to be a source of dissonance in the relationship of these two groups. As indicated, the problem of dismissing workers, particularly when the nonprofessionals call on community support, has created enmity between the staff groups, exacerbating feelings which may already have been present as a result of differential hiring practices, salaries, and working conditions. Personnel practices for nonprofessionals in a number of agencies are the same as those for maintenance and clerical staff rather than the more generous arrangements made with the professionals.

In some projects, direct assignments have evolved to the point where staff members from both groups are engaged in identical activities. In many cases, the only difference between them is a year or two of formal training, or training in a different area, with the result that the members of one group have professional certification. Yet the salary differential between such workers might be as much as 40 or 50 percent. Typically it is in the neighborhood of 25 percent, which still may amount to several thousand dollars a year.

Training Programs for Nonprofessionals

Before referring to problems of training relating specifically to nonprofessional personnel, we would do well to consider a few of the generic issues which underlie this area. In a war untrained troops are often forced into situations which they are unprepared to face. This happens because the time, resources, or necessary personnel to conduct proper training programs are lacking. It appears that in the current effort to socialize welfare and other services, which we have euphemistically dubbed a war, the same circumstance prevails. Funds are generally not forthcoming for training. Legislators, funding agencies, administrators, and beneficiaries prefer that funds be utilized to produce tangible, visible service programs. Statistics of persons served do not result from training programs. The qualitative differences which are produced are not sufficiently visible to meet the pressures being exerted. As a result, available resources are allocated to programs that produce quantitative results; training is not among these.

Some respondents indicated that the training programs for project nonprofessionals were generally a part of the training program offered the total project program staff. This means that there was no formal orientation period and that in-service training consisted of staff meetings, in some instances regularly scheduled, in others, sporadic. Administrators feel some discomfort with this situation though it is clear that they have resigned themselves to it. Only one project administrator was candid enough to acknowledge, without probing, that he had no training program worth mentioning.

What separate programs exist for nonprofessional staff sometimes have a strong doctrinaire character. They are designed to encourage agency loyalty and interpret agency programs and policy. One respondent suggested that training served as a vehicle to handle the strong negative feelings that the nonprofessionals had toward such public agencies as the Department of Welfare.

Nonprofessionals who had participated in new careers programs as client or project beneficiary did receive extensive training. This may be because the training itself is in this case service which can be statistically cited. One such program was quite imaginative and creative.* The training was distinct from that offered to any other staff group and unlike the conventional functions of job orientation and administrative information. It focused on correcting deficiencies in basic education skills and exposing

*Neighborhood House, Richmond, California the careerist nonprofessional to new experiences. Trips around the state, attendance at meetings, participation in conferences and conventions, and visits to legislative bodies were part of the program. Attention was also focused on developing organizational, job-related, and general social skills.

Substantive training often took place at the inception of the earliest E & D projects (usually amalgams in which OMAT, OJD, and municipal and private funding sources participated). Here the training of both professional and nonprofessional staff was given much attention. Because these projects were charged to produce knowledge rather than substantial services, they were permitted the luxury of substantial training investments. One such program, which devoted 6 percent (some $300,000) of its budget to training, was able to assign three staff members in addition to outside resource personnel to a full-time training program for one group of local nonprofessionals. Once the total program was in full swing, such an arrangement was not possible; as nonprofessionals were added they were placed in their jobs with little orientation or training.

In two of the projects observed, the MDTA project had turned over its training function to another agency. In both these cases, nonprofessional staff received high qualitative training experiences. In one case,*a citywide

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*Action Housing, Inc., Pittsburgh, Pa.

agency had undertaken responsibility for training nonprofessionals for all public programs in the city, and the project reluctantly complied. The administrator of the training program complained that she was hard-pressed by the groups she was serving to push trainees through quickly and avoid wasting time on nonessentials. The agencies made it clear that they regarded themselves as the proper training agents. They resented the central system and participated in it only to comply with the demands of the local CAP. In other cities, proposals to centralize training or negotiate training contracts with local academic institutions encountered similar resistance.

The centralized training program itself is quite comprehensive. Under the direction of a full-time training supervisor a functional syllabus has been prepared which outlines the goals and methods of the training unit. The training is directed to building a broad knowledge base encompassing the rationale behind the program as well as preparation for specific tasks. Relationships between nonprofessionals and professionals, clients and the community at large, are explored. The presentation of material takes into account educational, cultural, and ethnic differentials. Local historical and traditional materials as well as such topics as the culture of poverty, the role of the family, and economic and educational theories and institutions are covered in the syllabus. It appeared, on the basis of a brief site visit, that this material was effectively presented to the trainees.

There is much to commend this training arrangement. It relieves the service program of the burden of training and greatly increases the likelihood that training will take place. It raises the content level of training from concern with narrow operational issues to more creative exploitation of personnel and program.

In the second instance the training function was assumed by the National Committee for the Employment of Youth. In a sense this instance is a variant on the new careers model, except that it is specifically geared to meet the needs of manpower projects. In this regard it stands as perhaps the most effective and most relevant training device. Substantively this program is the most sophisticated reviewed. It consists of twelve weeks of on-the-job and classroom training combined with discussion and field trips. Program content is geared to the general and the specific, attempting to elucidate the conditions underlying the problems that the nonprofessionals will be coping with as well as their own functions in the projects. The program is staffed by three full-time professionals and operated under independent funding from OMAT.[15]

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[15] See National Committee on the Employment of Youth, A Demonstration On-The-Job Training Program for Semi-Professional Personnel in Youth Employment Programs. Mimeographed, 1965.

Apart from the substantive knowledge it generates, this program also serves as a training institution for other projects which hire graduates. It represents a most viable approach to training, combining the advantages of locating this function outside the service agency with the resources of an experienced, highly sophisticated staff. Local academic institutions will also lend themselves to this approach.

Summary and Conclusions

The employment of nonprofessionals in manpower projects has important consequences for the project's program, its target population, the nonprofessionals themselves, and the professional staff. Nonprofessionals have no influence on the substance of a manpower training program. In their capacity as project employees, they are directed to limit themselves to furthering organizational purpose. Although a nonprofessional may offer program in a unique style, he is discouraged from trying to alter its substance, nor could he do so if he were encouraged to. Projects see professionals and nonprofessionals in light of their own organizational needs, as solutions to problems of service provision, not as vehicles of institutional change or program innovation.

Issues of job security support these tendencies. Programs in training projects become locked in place, much as they do in continuing institutions. Issues of funding, politics, organizational self-interest, and the like are among the operational imperatives which determine program. Neither professional nor nonprofessional staff can alter this pattern through programmatic strategies. The actual substance of program will be altered by strategies that are economic, political, or organizational.

In visiting projects, particularly in the community itself, where many nonprofessionals pursue their assignments, the observer is impressed with the extent to which the target population has been engaged. The presence of the nonprofessionals is very much felt. Often they are regarded as "the agency" by the neighborhood population. Professionals are less well known and their presence is not felt to the same degree.

In areas like Hunters Point in San Francisco, Hough in Cleveland, and East Los Angeles, all of which reflect severe deprivation and urban blight, nonprofessional staff were among the few social-welfare personnel who remained engaged with these communities through their recent crisis. A stated goal of antipoverty program in the use of nonprofessionals is to relieve tensions. To this end local persons of influence as well as residents of a troubled area are sought out for nonprofessional assignments. One program effectively emasculated a militant local civil rights organization by hiring virtually all its leadership as nonprofessional staff. However, the militant mantle of the first organization was promptly seized by another group.

Another project placed former activists ("hell raisers") in program positions, where they were quickly immersed in diverse complex procedures which inhibited their ability to perform. These nonprofessionals then found themselves in the position of having to explain to their neighbors that their demands could not be met for reasons having to do with funding, legislation, jurisdiction, etc.

In another context, the function of the local untrained nonprofessional was described as keeping the clients from "conning the professionals." It is being suggested here that the target communities joins the projects in an interacting continuum. At the point of juncture nonprofessional positions provide a number of residents with channels for upward mobility; however, the essential issues of discord, (unemployment, housing, education, etc.) remain.

In this regard, it can be noted that project employment has profound consequences for the nonprofessionals themselves. Most striking, and not at all atypical, is the high-school tutor group mentioned earlier. Welfare recipients, school dropouts, unwed mothers, and the chronically unemployed have also utilized the opportunities afforded through project employment to enormous personal advantage. In such instances, standards of living have risen, debts have been cleared, permanent employment maintained and school continued for the nonprofessional employee and his family. These results are perhaps the clearest and least ambiguous positive consequence of nonprofessional employment.

Professional staff has probably been affected more than is generally acknowledged by the employment of nonprofessionals. For one thing, they find in the office, on their own side of the desk, as it were, attitudes, life styles, and points of view which heretofore they saw only in clients and usually characterized as pathology. They are forced by their nonprofessional colleagues to justify their practice in client-related terms. The effect on the provision of services seems to be salutary, for professionals in these projects are markedly more effective with the poor than are their counterparts in ongoing agencies.

Experience in the use of nonprofessionals has suggested that some professional services can be effectively performed by untrained personnel. Although this issue has by no means been resolved, the fact that it has been clearly stated is of no small consequence.

It appears that the advantages (particularly bridging gaps and fulfilling democratic ideology) which are sought through the utilization of nonprofessionals, will stem from three separate sources, one of which is nonprofessional indigenous status. Locating of the nonprofessional in a decentralized, neighborhood-based, comprehensive setting appears to be required to enable his contribution to come forth. In addition the organization, (i.e., E & D project or state employment service) within which this program is located will determine the extent to which the qualities which inhere in the worker and are facilitated by the decentralized setting are utilized. Nonprofessional status is essentially instrumental; organizational policies and structural forms will determine in large measure the direction of this instrumentation. Perhaps the greatest source of disappointment in using this staff group has resulted from the expectation that their nonprofessional status in itself contained sufficient magic to transcend the limitations which plagued the rest of the project. We have tried to suggest that this is not the case.

Implications for Manpower Training

Certain trends are discernible in the use of nonprofessionals which may cause some concern. The patterns of service provision seem to cast the nonprofessional staff member with the lower-class minority-group client while the professional serves the middle-class, more highly motivated client. The former provides direct, concrete service while the latter provides therapeutic and rehabilitative services. Clients of employment-service administered programs will ordinarily find no occasion to have contact with the nonprofessional. Such contact is reserved for clients of the special-training, antipoverty or E & D project, which deal with the most disadvantaged segment of the population.

A similar pattern is apparent in other service programs as well. Nonprofessional teachers and medical aides tend to be utilized in the slum school and hospital ward. The use of nonprofessionals in this way reinforces the dual standard which already characterize the participation of the poor in society. It may also be offered as a substitute for more schools, reorganized employment services, or higher salaries for nurses.

Problems of training nonprofessional staff are related to the issue of making the most efficacious use of them in broad social terms rather than narrow organizational terms. To achieve such ends it is necessary to resist the pressures to produce visible results often before the projects are prepared to do so. Adequate training will take time and resources which have rarely been available.

Succumbing to the blandishments and threats of the poverty war's armchair generals, professionals and administrators have too often utilized nonprofessionals as the shock troops. As a result administrators have squandered the potential of this vast resource of service personnel for a quick increase in the gross statistics of clients served. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this waste is the widespread failure to make the nonprofessional an integral part of the service offered. As we have suggested, this failure is particularly noticeable in manpower programs. That it is not an inevitable consequence, implicit in the nature of employment training, is demonstrated by the several outstanding experiences cited.

Generally, the problem of replicating experience in using nonprofessionals is formidable. Local programs administered through such continuing agencies as the state employment service and the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training are notably unresponsive to the potentials available to them. This lack of receptivity is a matter of public policy to be resolved in other quarters than the nonprofessional utilization programs.

We have cited negative factors first in the belief that the experience of manpower and other service programs has established the value and viability of using nonprofessional staff. The potential of this approach on all levels - meeting manpower needs, bridging the gap between service agency and the very poor, and creating new careers to alleviate chronic unemployment - has been demonstrated by the broad range of program undertaken by the Department of Labor, sponsored by the Office of Manpower Training.

Implications for the Service Professions

Although it may not be politically expedient to join the issue, there are few who would seriously dispute the contention that this nation is a highly developed welfare state. The provision of welfare services is becoming an increasingly accepted function of government; serving millions of citizens. In contrast to the notion that welfare services should be provided as a matter of noblesse to a select group of deserving poor, the welfare-state model strives to provide its benefits as a matter of right available to the entire citizenry.

The provision of service by means of a small, specially trained professional elite is viable for limited programs. But this method cannot possibly be effective in programs providing massive benefits. The future of the service professions in the welfare state is therefore inevitably linked to the utilization of the nonprofessional. Narrow professional issues will eventually be set aside to meet the more significant national welfare issues which impinge upon us. The programs reviewed have indicated many possibilities. Policy makers and social planners will have to provide the contexts within which these possibilities can be fully exploited.

Appendix I

Recapitulation and Special Source Materials

This paper has highlighted several issues in the experience of a handful of projects funded by the Department of Labor under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Because of the nature of these programs, considerable attention has been focused on the new careers -- anti-poverty models. Although the point that the use of nonprofessionals transcends this model has already been made, it bears reiteration. The many projects demonstrating the usefulness of working and middle-class nonprofessionals in educational, health, therapeutic, recreational, child-care and other roles, comprise a substantial part of the literature on the subject. Generalizations, which go beyond the observations of this paper, regarding manpower social policy issues need reflect these experiences, as well as those cited in this report.

This report has presented a number of issues judged to be both salient and useful to agencies engaged in the kind of manpower-anti-poverty-programs typical of much recent activity. The provisions of the Scheuer Amendment have insured that such areas of nonprofessional usage will continue and expand. We would suggest that the following are priority considerations for agencies participating in programs of this general type.

Some Conditions

Nonprofessional employment is a complex, differentially useful strategy. It is not a panacea which will solve problems of chronic unemployment or make up for the inadequacies of the service professions.

Problems such as organizational malfunction and inadequacy of service or benefit which stem from administrative or legislative policy will not be altered by the employment of nonprofessionals.

Justification of the nonprofessional in the labor force will ultimately be made on the basis of production as it is for other workers. There is no particular "magic" associated with their employment.

Some Virtues

The manpower shortages in the service professions have been chronic and pervasive. The only forseeable solution to these shortages is in the vast resources of the nonprofessional.

Differential usage of nonprofessionals acknowledges the unique contributions which they can make in such distinctive roles as bridge, helper-therapist, and the like.

Some Issues

The training function, central to all productive employment, has been neglected in nonprofessional employment. As nonprofessionals move from special training, demonstration and experimental projects into continuing public departments and institutions, as well as private industry, establishing suitable training programs becomes critical.

To be effective, nonprofessional positions will have to be located in a job continuum which provides open career lines. Any strategy which restricts the nonprofessional to entry level positions will frustrate all benefits. . .those accruing to the nonprofessional, the service recipient, the agency and the community.

The relationship between professional and the nonprofessional ought be supporting and complementary. However, strains between the two groups often develop out of explicit issues. Such issues, particularly those which make invidious or marked distinctions between the two groups, need be anticipated and avoided.

If the generic benefits of nonprofessional personnel are to be realized their services cannot be restricted to the less influential or less affluent. Complementary nonprofessional services have their place in the schools, hospitals, welfare departments, family agencies and service industries serving the entire community. Manpower plans ought be predicated, if anything, on redressing the professional shortages in the less affluent community. Plans for the use of nonprofessionals ought certainly avoid aggravating such shortages by providing nonprofessional substitutes.

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By way of a final comment, we would wish to make explicit what we believe to be the implicit conclusion of this brief report. We believe that recent programs using nonprofessionals have demonstrated the manpower resource they represent, the enrichment which this resource can provide program and the spate of direct and indirect benefits which may accrue to the total community. We do not believe that present programs have yet realized the potentials available from this new manpower source. The conviction that the nonprofessional not be exploited for short-range superficial, relatively insignificant goals is what moves us to some of the critical suggestions embodied in this paper. Diligent appraisal of past experience, and utilization of whatever insight such appraisal produces, may provide us with clues as to how the use of nonprofessionals may ultimately solve substantial problems and meet fairly significant long-range goals.

On Orientation and Training Program for Sub-Professionals. . .in the Community Action Program of the City of Pittsburgh

Studies in Tutoring. R. Cloward, Research Center, Columbia University, 1966. Mimeograph.

Training the NonProfessional. F. Riessman, Scientific Resources, Inc, 1967. Mimeograph.

Training NonProfessional Workers for Human Services, A Manual of Organization and Process, Institute for Youth Studies, Howard University, 1966.

A Demonstration On-The-Job Training Program for Semi-Professional Personnel in Youth Employment Programs. National Committee on Employment of Youth, 1965. Mimeograph.

The above, and additional source material, may be obtained from the following:

Neighborhood House, 1707 Truman Street, Richmond, California. (Applications, job descriptions, etc.)

Neighborhood Service Center Program, Lincoln Hospital, 781 East 142 Street, Bronx, New York

Mobilization for Youth, 214 East 2nd Street, New York, N. Y.

Mayor's Committee on Human Resources Training Center, 303 Plaza Bldg., Pittsburgh, Penna. 15219

National Committee on Employment of Youth, 145 East 32 St., New York, N. Y. 10016

Scientific Resources, Inc., 1191 Morris Avenue, Union, New Jersey.

Howard University Center for Youth and Community Studies, Washington, D. C.

Appendix II

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